



(De)professionalizations of Danish Teachers Encountering the Problematised Immigrant of School Age, 1970-2012

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Publication date:
2013

Document version
Early version, also known as pre-print

Citation for published version (APA):
Padovan-Özdemir, M. (2013). *(De)professionalizations of Danish Teachers Encountering the Problematised Immigrant of School Age, 1970-2012*. Abstract from ISA RC52 Interim Conference, Lissabon, Portugal.

"(De)professionalizations of Danish Teachers Encountering the Problematic Immigrant of School Age, 1970-2012"

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ABSTRACT

The paper explores (de)professionalizations of Danish teachers in the time span of 1970-2012 in regards to handling the immigrant subject of compulsory school age. This period is characterized by a change in the immigration flow pointing to a growing population stock of immigrants of school age, which left the teachers with a group of schoolchildren diversified due to immigration. Among other factors, this change of the immigrant population stock also caused successive changes in immigration policies (and vice versa) consecutively influencing education policies and educational management of immigrants of school age.

The paper argues that (de)professionalizations of Danish teachers encountering the immigrant of school age emerge with the identifications and descriptions of the immigrant of school age as an educational problem. The theoretical establishment of the problematization of a population group as the inner logic of professionalization processes makes it relevant to advance a theoretical understanding of professionals as mediaries cultivating the population in the image of the collective.

Methodologically, the paper investigates what empirical sources may provide material for the study of the causal interdependence between educational problem identification and (de)professionalization.

Introduction

This paper is part of my current PhD-project on the institutionalization of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age as a matter of state crafting from 1970-2012 in Denmark.¹

The overall research project seeks to explore the institutionalization process through four trajectories of analysis. The first trajectory, of which this paper is the preliminary sketch for, analyses the professionalization of the interventions. The second trajectory identifies three municipal configurations of the educational management and interventions of the immigrant of school age. The third trajectory maps the scholarly knowledge production in the research area of educational management of immigrants of school age. This knowledge production is deemed to have been instructional for the development of educational interventions and their

¹ My PhD-project is part of the collective research project, Professional Interventions as a State Crafting Grammar Addressing the "Immigrant", at Section of Education, University of Copenhagen. The collective research project is funded by The Danish Council for Independent Research, and led by associate professor Bolette Moldenhawer and conducted in collaboration with associate professors Christian Ydesen and Trine Øland.

professionalization. The fourth trajectory is a neo-institutional analysis informed by the first three analytical explorations into the field of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age. The research project will be concluded with a comparative mirroring of the Danish case with the French and English case with the attempt to contribute to an empirically and comparatively informed theorization of how state crafting can be studied through the prism of professional-educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age.

Hence, the paper feeds into the field of research on education professionals encountering a multicultural group of children (Holmen & Jørgensen 1993; Day & Steensen 2010; Horst 2003; Fransson & Fryklund 2006; Gule 2008; Kristjánsdóttir & Timm 2007), and the adjacent field of research on (de)professionalization in relation to transformations of the (welfare) state (Daugbjerg, Lyhne & Olesen 2010; Duyvendak, Knijn & Kremer 2006a; Brante 2005; Torstendahl 1989; Prieur 2010; Jensen & Prieur 2010; Hansen et al. 2010). The aim of the paper is not to reclaim a professional authority of teachers of immigrants of school age, nor is the aim to prescribe proper measures of professionalization in order to increase the educational attainment of immigrants of school age. Rather, the paper investigates theoretical and methodological ways of finding answers to the research questions of what characterizes the socio-historical development of the professionalization of in-service teachers encountering immigrants of school age in Denmark, 1970-2012. In addition, how may the process of professionalization be understood as a matter of state crafting?

As such, the larger PhD-project including this paper is academically informed by and situated in a cross-section of the disciplines of educational sociology, sociology of professions, migration and ethnicity studies, and political science. Acknowledging the information of these diverse disciplines, this paper seeks to discuss the concept of state and the relation between state and professions within the sociology of professions when applied to the field of education.

Within in this larger research project, this paper represents the first hesitant steps towards a historical mapping of the professionalization of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age in Denmark (1970-2012) and the sketching of a possible socio-historical understanding of the dynamics of such professionalization processes. By and large, the paper is a methodological reflection on what empirical material may hold evidence to this particular professionalization process. Hence, the paper does only present preliminary observations from the collected material, and should therefore be read merely as a theoretical, methodological and

analytical sketch for an investigation of the professionalization of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age since 1970 in Denmark.

Theoretical propositions

It is this paper's socio-historical presumption of the nexus of the state and the professions within it (in this case school teachers) that the modern state emerges on the basis of and evolves with the ever more complex division of labor (Durkheim 1992). Emile Durkheim argued that the increasing societal complexity widened the distance between the collective and the individual (1992, p. 15) putting at risk the cohesion of society. By referring to the collective, Durkheim alludes to the state as an organ of social thought (Ibid, p. 54), which frames the exterior actions of individuals in society by moral representations of the common good. However, the state is not executive, but in order for the state to invoke moral conduct in its citizens, professional groups "are essential if the State is not to oppress the individual: they are also necessary if the State is to be sufficiently free of the individual. And indeed we can imagine this as suiting both sides; for both have an interest in the two forces not being in immediate contact although they must be linked one with the other (Ibid, p. 96).

Following Durkheim's rather idealistic line of thought of the state itself not being executive, it seems relevant to turn to Pierre Bourdieu's non-idealistic conceptualization of the state as a universalizing force, which is realized within and through the bureaucratic field (Bourdieu 1999, p. 72). In line with Durkheim, Bourdieu takes up the same socio-historical analysis of the emerging modern nation state connecting its formation and affirmation to privileged and specialized groups of agents within the bureaucratic field working on behalf of the collective good through universalizing acts of normalization, classification, problem identification, and acts of writing on the state (Ibid, p. 54-55).

With this socio-historically informed theoretical framing of the relation between the state and the professions it is possible to take up Staffan Selander's (1989) critique of the concept of profession. With reference to Mike Saks, Selander suggests us to understand the concept of profession empirically as a folk concept, a product of the society we study (1989, p. 12). As such, professions may serve as an empirical prism through which state formation and state crafting can be studied (Ibid, p. 11).

Taking this position within the research field of sociology of professions, I follow Thomas Brante's (2011) and Rolf Torstendahl's (1989) critiques of the long tradition of advancing lists of criteria for determining what counts as a profession and what does not. Instead of categorizing professional groups according to the traditional criteria such as 'autonomy', 'abstract knowledge base', 'authorization', and 'ethics', Brante (2005, p.17) suggests that we understand the concept of profession empirically as a historical concept by which professionalization must be understood in relation to the contingent societal structures and forms of state. In advance of Brante's (2005) propositions to the development of the sociology of professions, Torstendahl (1989) argued that the defining criteria developed in earlier sociology of professions could be used as analytical categories for the investigation of professional groups' position and practice within society (p. 31). This argument feeds well into Brante's (1989) earlier idea of every state having its own "professional structure" (p. 51, my translation), which might particularize the criteria of 'autonomy'; when i.e. school teachers are employed by the state or the municipality working under state regulations and jurisdictions of the ministry of education. Hence, when scholars of sociology of profession talk of deprofessionalization in terms of professional groups losing their autonomy in the era of neoliberalism, Brante (2005) explains this as a consequence of changes in the state form and thereby changes in the professional structure; not necessarily de-professionalizing, but re-professionalizing (Duyvendak, Knijn & Kremer 2006b, p. 8-9).

In much appreciation of Brante's and Torstendahl's work, I try to advance their theoretical propositions for studying professionalization as internal to state crafting. Brante and Torstendahl argue that professional changes should be understood as effects of changes in the state. Brante (2005) accounts historically for the modern nation state's different needs of different professional groups, and Torstendahl sketches the internal dynamics of the triangle of the state, education and the professionals (1989, p. 33). In both historically informed theoretical conceptualizations, the state and the professions are presented as two interdependent entities. Inspired by Terry Johnson's (1995) critique of the misconception of the relation between the state and the professions as binary (p. 9), my theoretical errand in this paper is to argue for a conception of the so-called professional structure as the field of professional agents entrusted by the collective, and through which the state (or the collective) crafts itself. In other words, the state realizes and legitimates itself through professionalized acts of vision and division (Bourdieu 1999, p. 61). "To understand the symbolic dimension of the effect of the state, and in particular what we may call the effects of universality, it is necessary to understand the specific functioning of the bureaucratic microcosm and thus to

analyze the genesis and structure of this universe of agents of the state who have constituted themselves into a state nobility by instituting the state" (Ibid, p. 71). In my theoretical conceptualization of the relations between the state and the professions entrusted by the collective to take care of the collective good, professions are not understood as separate from bureaucracy; they are part of bureaucracy.

As such, the term profession becomes an analytical category historically contingent with a given state's authorization of and calling upon agents with specialized knowledge on the subject, they are entrusted to manage on the behalf of the collective good. Hitherto, professionalization refers to the process of knowledge specialization that authorizes the trust given to the professional agents by the state and the public, which again reinforces the state.

With this use of the category of profession, it becomes relevant to think with Terry Johnson's critical remarks on governments' dependence "on the neutrality of expertise in rendering social realities governable" (1995, p. 22). This statement is historically supported by the Danish historian Klaus Petersen in his account of the development of the Danish welfare state post-1945. He argues that the government of the collective good is highly dependent on "the acceptance of expert knowledge as the foundation of a good life" (1997, p. 367, my translation).

This historical observation concurs with Torstendahl's (1989) argument for the knowledge base of professions to be the most in-contingent defining characteristic of an occupational group to be categorized as professional. Brante (2011) develops this argument by use of the notion of ontological models informing and regulating the work of professionals. Brante's ontological models share the same functions as Bourdieu's (1999) attributions to the crafting of the state; the functions of classification, problem identification and problem solving. Important to note is that the knowledge base or the ontological models informing professional work are socially and historically contingent themselves. It is only in the function of a defining conceptual characteristic that the knowledge base or ontological model acts as in-contingent.

Summing up, I dare to say that I have established a position and an argument within the sociology of professions that promotes a statist perspective in the study of professionalization, which can be rendered in opposition to the perspectives of social closure, classification by criteria, and autonomy.

According to Vibeke Erichsen (1995) a statist perspective gives focus to how professionals identify problems and solutions associated with public policies (p. 189), and how they "contribute to

ideological hegemonies, and to the definition of relevant knowledge and values" (Ibid) about the object of intervention (in this case the immigrant of school age) and about the professional education intervention itself.

Hence, my socio-historical study of the specialization and professionalization of an empirically demarcated professional group (school teachers) encountering the problematized immigrant of school age is simultaneously a study of how the Danish state crafts itself, when faced with a population of school age diversified due to immigration.

Problems as the inner logic of professionalization

Before I proceed to the presentation of the methodological implications of the theoretical propositions presented above, I find it necessary to elaborate on the idea that professions such as the teacher profession institute and realize the state by acts of problem identification, classification and problem solution.

The political scientist Murray Edelman (1988) argued that problem constructions preceding policy making and professional interventions could not be understood as objective descriptions of conditions. Problem constructions should rather be understood as historically contingent "constructions of conditions as problems" (p. 13). As such, problem constructions work as signifiers of the way an undesirable situation or threat to the collective good is labelled. Problem constructions also signify what authorities, professionals and interventions are set in motion to deal with the constructed problem (Ibid, p. 16). The authorities and professionals entrusted to manage the problem are dependent on the way the problem is explained. Edelman (1988) gave the example that "[i]f poverty stems from individual inadequacies, then psychologists, social workers, and educators have a claim to authority in dealing with it; but if an economy that fails to provide enough jobs paying an adequate wage is the source of poverty, then economists have a claim to authority" (p. 20). In other words, at certain way of defining and explaining a problem generates authority and legitimacy and allocates financial means to a specific group of professionals while denying this beneficial status to other professional groups in handling the problem.

My preliminary observations of the documentary material, I use in this study, suggest that the immigrant of school age in the early 1970-ties was first and foremost constructed as an educational problem in terms of his/her foreignness to Danish language (Gimbel 1994, p. 10). As such, the solution to this problem was to instruct these "students of Danish as a foreign language" (in Danish

"fremmedsprogslever") with as much Danish language as possible (Hetmar 1991, p. 25). In the following decade of the 1980-ties the problem was constructed in terms of a pedagogical children's rights perspective (Ibid, p. 28), where the solution to the problem was a combination of mother tongue teaching and Danish language instruction. In the 1990-ties the linguistic orientation of the problematization of immigrants of school age was refined as a matter of bilingualism and cultural plurality and the solution to it was found in the professional specialization of teaching Danish as a Second Language (Holmen & Jørgensen 1993). This professional and scholarly refinement of the problem label and solution to it as a matter of Danish as a Second Language continued during the 2000's (Holmen & Lund 1999; Holmen, Glahn & Ruus 2003; Holm & Laursen 2004). Hitherto, in the aftermath of 9/11 the problematization of the immigrant of school age was ever more constructed as matter of cultural distance to Danish culture (Haas et al. 2011).

This short preview of my very preliminary analytical observations makes a good example for my argument that problem construction feeds professionalization and vice versa. Once the problem of the immigrant of school age was constructed as a linguistic problem, a professionalization process was activated amongst teachers; however, on a rather informal level for the first two decades. Another interesting observation from my material points to the development and flourishing of specialized titles for professionals encountering the immigrant of school age. Overall, this development in professional titles followed the labelling of the problem: from "teachers of Danish as a Foreign Language", "bilingual teachers", "consultants of bilingualism", "teachers of Danish as a Second Language", and lately "school-home counsellors" among others.

This empirical-analytical search for the problematization of the immigrant of school age should echo the theoretical proposition on the state as a dynamic realized through professional acts of vision and division. As such, the specification of problematized target groups of educational intervention (such as the immigrant of school age) seems to be inevitable to the study of the professionalization of educational interventions as matter of state crafting.

On this basis, it seems important to note that the category "immigrant of school age" work as an analytical category capable of containing the variety of empirical categorizations and problem constructions of the field of investigation. This means that this historical subject of educational interventions may well hold Danish citizenship, yet still be constructed and problematized in the same way as an object of intervention that holds foreign citizenship. The reason why I have labelled the analytical category "immigrant of school age" is to connote the historical origins of the problem

construction related to the family reunifications of the early guest workers of the 1960-ties in Denmark.

Methodological implications and considerations

Other educational scholars have addressed the problem construction and categorization of the immigrant of school age in policy documents and political debates (Kristjánsdóttir & Timm 2007; Horst & Gitz-Johansen 2010). This will not be the primary focus of this paper. If anything, my empirical-analytical point of departure begins with the professional (teachers') discussions and constructions of the problematized immigrant of school age. From here, I follow the links to political, administrative and scholarly constructions of the immigrant of school age and the impact these constructions hold for the professionalization of the interventions vis-à-vis the immigrant of school age.

Hence, I study the professionalization process by mapping the provision of formal and informal in-service training, provision of further education, and informal knowledge sharing through conferences, seminars and workshops. With this focus, I am interested in the historical development of the aim, content and academic level of such in-service training programs. Not least, how the problem construction of the immigrant of school age is displayed, and what solutions to the problem such training programs provide and advocate for.

In order to understand my selection of sources and documentary material, one must be aware of the fact that the development of educational interventions in regards to the immigrant of school age (and to much extent in general educational development) in the Danish basic schooling system is characterized as a rather decentralized and experimental process (Hetmar 1991, p. 27). As the professionalization of educational interventions is closely connected to this decentralized developmental work, I have deliberately chosen not to start out by investigating education acts framing the educational developmental work of this time period (see Kristjánsdóttir 2006 for such an investigation). Instead, I have started out by identifying the most prominent professional organizations, which have played a significant role in the specialization and professionalization of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age since 1970.

The professional organization of UFE (the organization of teachers of bilingual students) stands out as a key player in the field, initially organized on a local municipal level in Copenhagen, but a few years later on a national Danish level. UFE functioned as an independent organization, but it was

recognized as a specialized professional organization under the umbrella of DLF (the Danish Teachers Organization). From its early establishment in 1977 UFE published a newsletter/journal, which succeeded to engage both teachers, scholars, and representatives of the municipal and ministerial administrations in current debates on educational interventions vis-à-vis the immigrant of school age. I use the general assembly minutes, event invitations, course announcements, scholarly contributions and political and professional debates to track the references to other organizations and institutions, which have played an important part in the development and provision of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age.

In this manner I have screened the UFE newsletters from 1978-2006. This screening has led me on to five other significant organizations, which subsequently and sometimes overlapping has engaged in the professionalization of educational interventions dealing with immigrants of school age. The organizations are UC2 (1996-2001), a research institution for the teaching of bilingual children, initially funded by the Ministry of Education in order to enhance the knowledge of education professionals managing children with an immigrant background. UC2 was in 2001 dissolved, but reappeared as a research center for bilingualism and interculturalism within CVU Copenhagen (Center for Advanced Studies). With the reorganization of the CVU into a University College in 2008, the research center now merely exists as a scholarly unit conducting action-based research projects and providing in-service training and further education in the area of bilingualism, Danish-as-a-second-language and intercultural pedagogy. The documentary archives of this organization consist of a newsletter from the early years and the journal, *Sprog & Integration*, from 2001-2008. Since this organization has been a key developer and supplier of the in-service training and further education of teachers, I also aim to conduct a screening of course descriptions and literature lists in order to track the aims, content and scholarly frames of reference. Such documentary material is not easy to get access to, since much of it is filed in personal archives of the formerly employed lecturers. Therefore, I collect screen dumps of older versions of the organization's website using www.wayback.com² and download material from there.

The screenings of the above-mentioned newsletters and journals furthermore point to FTML (The organization of bilingual and mother tongue teachers) as an important agent in the field. However, this organization does not have its own newsletter nor website, but has been using UFE and UC2's

² The Wayback Machine is a non-profit internet library with the purpose of archiving digital productions.

newsletters and journals as means of expressing their agenda. I.e. their yearly conference is refereed in the UFE newsletter.

Furthermore, I find it interesting that the Ministry of Integration and the Ministry of Education since 1995 has published a joint newsletter, *Det flyvende tæppe*, on Danish-as-a-Second-Language instruction for children, youngsters and adults. The screening of this journal is supplemented with my screening of the ministerial website of Tosprogtaskforcen (www.tosprogtaskforce.dk). Since 2008 the Tosprogtaskforce (Bilingual-Taskforce) has existed as a ministerial unit for the development of the instruction of Danish-as-a-Second-Language in basic education and for the promotion of intercultural school-parent partnerships in multicultural school settings. The documentary sources of this unit is interesting to include in the study, since the establishment seems to mark a significant transformation of the bureaucratic structure of educational development work in the field of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age.

Due to the decentralized development of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age, the anchorage of professionalization to the municipal and school level of educational government is inevitable to include in my investigation (Borgnakke & Raae 2011). Hence, the professional organization, FOKUTO, representing municipal administrative consultants in the area of educational management of immigrants of school age, figures as a central agent in this matter. FOKUTO (the organization of school consultants of bilingual students) was established in 1992 and dissolved in 2013. This organization is interesting, because its members represent a crucial administrative link between the ministerial level and school level mediating between the two. Due to its network-based organizational form the documentary archives of this organization is dispersed among its subsequent chairmen. However, some of the archives of minutes, articles of association, conference programmes and policy recommendations may be reconstructed from its old website on www.wayback.com. FOKUTO played a particularly apparent role in the organization of the annual conference, *Multikulturelle skoler* (Multicultural Schools) in close collaboration with UC2, and it is mainly these conference programmes that are included in my sample of documents.

One last, but highly significant institution in my field of investigation is DLH (Denmark's Teachers' High School). It functioned for more than hundred years and closed in 2000, when it reappeared in the form DPU (Danish University of Education). By and large, DLH's commission was to develop and professionalize educational interventions, its didactics and pedagogy in close collaboration with local schools and municipalities by providing in-service training programs, facilitating local study

groups and conducting action based education research. Many of the DLH lecturers and researchers studying the educational management of the immigrant of school age appear continuously in the newsletters and journals mentioned above, and so do references to DLH in-service training programs for teachers encountering the immigrant of school age. This made me aware of the substantial contribution DLH made to the process of professionalizing the educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age. Hence, I have screened the annual reports of DLH since 1970-2000. This initial screening has enabled me to identify on a preliminary basis the historical formation of a research field on the immigrant of school age and the adjacent development of in-service training programs. In the 1970-ties only a one or two researchers seem to engaged in research on the immigrant of school age, and only sporadic courses on the instruction of Danish as a Foreign Language to immigrants of school age seem to be provided. This picture changes during the 1980'ties, which are characterized by many more in-service training courses and local study groups supported by a core of highly active researchers engaged in both in-service training programs as well as in the establishment of an institutionalized research field. By the end of the 1980-ties the Center for Multicultural Studies at DLH and the book series, Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism have been initiated. From the mid 1990-ties there seem to be an explosion in the provision of specialized in-service training courses aimed at teachers dealing with specific national groups of immigrants of school age. Hitherto, the publication lists and activity logs of the researchers involved become longer and longer.

It is also in the end of the 1990-ties that UC2 is established and starts offering in-service training. Soon after, during the 2000-s a formalization of the provision of further education to teachers encountering the immigrant of school age occurs. This happens together with a seemingly retraction of the hitherto decentralized way of educational development and professionalization pointing to fewer providers of in-service training, centralization around the ministerial Tosprogstaskforce, and closing of the earlier mentioned professional organizations by the end of the 2000's.

The construction of an empirical archive

The observant reader may have reckoned that my field of investigation comprises intersections of research, professional organization and school, municipal and ministerial education government, which I identify by reading first and foremost professional journals and newsletters. According to Marianne Brodersen (2009) professional journals act as an arena for professional exchanges of views. As such, they can expose ideal perceptions of professional interventions and evaluations of

tried interventions. However, as I have outlined above, professional journals seem to expose and comprise many other agents of the educational field than only the professional teachers. This is why I have found it fruitful and relevant to investigate professionalization of educational interventions vis-à-vis the immigrant of school age through professional journals and newsletters.

Methodologically, the building of my empirical archive has been made possible by the "snowball-method" (Lynggaard 2010, p. 141 my translation), which lets one document lead to the next document, agent or organization until the archive seems saturated. This requires a certain degree of knowledge of the field of investigation and a theoretical framing of the field (Platt 2006, p. 89-90), which I have tried to display in the earlier sections of this paper. Kennet Lynggaard (2010) argues for the identification of one or a group of "mother document(s)" that hold a significant position in relation to the other documents. In my study, I argue that this significant position is held by the UFE newsletter as the compilation of documents (minutes, course invitations, debates, articles etc.) that have most references to the rest of the archive – and the field of investigation!

To ensure the validity of a documentary sample, John Scott (2006b) suggests assessing the quality of the documents by their authenticity, credibility and representativeness. Since my documentary material is of a newer historical date, many of the authors and organizations producing the documents in questions are descendible. The credibility of the selected documents applies to another sort of methodological question.

Hence, the credibility of my analysis rests on the sampling of documents representing the various levels and positions in the socio-historical field of the professionalization process. Scott (2006b) argues, that "a properly constructed sample – [is] one which is a theoretically and empirically meaningful selection of documents" (Scott 2006b, 31-32). Following this argument, my sampling of the above outlined documentary sources and archives is framed by a preliminary construction of a bureaucratic subfield encompassing the level of ministerial and municipal education government, the level of further education provision, and not least the level of professional organizations. All of the agents and organizations representing these levels of the field also hold significantly different positions in relation to each other and to their professional interests in the content, aim and provision of the professionalization of the educational management of immigrants of school age.

Much historiographic documentary research is limited to the available documentary material of the past (Platt 2006a). However, I take the advantage of the possibility of actually generating fresh data

material on the field of investigation by conducting interviews with significant agents, who have played a substantial part in professionalization processes from 1970-2012.

The function of these interviews is an attempt to close the historical gaps of the documentary sample, and grasp the undocumented socio-historical fluidity of the field of investigation as a supplement to my documentary analysis. Moreover, the interviews may help me to get access to important documents stored in the personal archives of the interviewees.

The interviews are conducted in a qualitative manner inspired by the tradition of oral history. However, it is not the ambition to tell a forgotten or repressed history, nor to empower the interviewees (Thor 2001, 332). Rather, the interviews represent an endeavor to (re)construct a socio-historical process from the viewpoint of temporally, professionally and bureaucratically different positioned agents vested with interests in the same field. "Oral and written documents are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, when the two groups of sources are combined, new questions arise, which hopefully generates a broader and deeper understanding of the fluidity [of social history]" (Thor 2001, p. 332-333 my translation).

I investigate the interviews and the documentary material letting them raise questions to each other. The juxtaposition of different sources should substantiate my socio-historical analysis and construction of the field, in which struggles over the professionalization of the education of immigrants of school age have taken place.

Making something of the material

The next step of this study is to *index* my material. For that matter, I will let my work of indexing be guided by the following categories: education, further education, in-service training, thematic workshops, after-work meetings, conferences, seminars. These categories will be substantiated by the sub-categories of the title of the courses and events, the labelling of the immigrant of school age, the aim and content of the courses/events, the provider of the course/event, the target group of the courses/events, and the professional title one as a teacher receives from attaining such further education/professionalization.

Working from the theoretical idea of problems acting as the inner logic of professionalization, I propose the following set of questions³ (including preliminary observations from the material) to

³ The questions are adapted from Haldén & Kjær (1994).

guide the *coding* of the material, which mirrors the ontological models of professionals (see p. 5 of this paper):

1. What is the problem? Why is it a problem?
2. Who are the subjects in the social structure of the problem? (children of guest workers, bilingual children, ethnic minority parents, Muslims)
3. How is the reality of the problem explained? (low academic achievement, lack of language competencies, inappropriate cultural behavior)
4. What are the causes of the problem? (socio-economic deprivation, school expectations, inappropriate leisure activities)
5. What are the categories of distinction? (bilingual vs. monolingual, Danish vs. foreign, democratic vs. Muslim)
6. Who are the professional teachers entrusted to manage the problem? (Danish-as-a-second-language teachers, bilingual teachers, immigrant teachers, teachers of reception classes, role models, education consultants)

By these ways of indexing and coding, I put forward a process of analysis, which falls into three subsequent parts. The first part of analysis is an elaboration of the mapping of significant agents and organizations in the development and provision of professionalization and the relations between them. By finding answers to the six analytical questions displayed above across the different material and sources, the second part of analysis will consist of analytical characteristics of how the historically contingent problematization of the immigrant of school age provokes different acts and contents of the professionalization of teachers encountering the immigrant of school age. Since the study has a substantial historical dimension to it spanning a period of forty years, the third part is a diachronic analysis of the continuities and ruptures to be identified in the historical process of professionalization of educational interventions addressing the immigrant of school age.

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